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## CHALDÆANS AND CHALDIANS IN ARMENIA.

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Belck and Lehmann, in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* and in the *Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, 1892 *sqq.*, while discussing the history of the Ḫaldi, the Assyrian Urartu, have incidentally made a few references to the occurrence of *Χαλδαία*. These references are of considerable value, since they indicate the survival of the name long after the people itself had completely disappeared. Of these interesting relics of a perished people the present paper furnishes a more complete list.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the forms *Χαλδαία* and *Χαλδαί*, with their cognate forms *Χαλδαῖοι* and *Χάλδοι*, we note first the word *Ἀλαρόδιοι*, used by Herodotus.<sup>1</sup> This, as long since recognized by Rawlinson,<sup>2</sup> is merely another form of the Assyrian Urartu, of which the Hebrew Ararat and the Armenian Airarat are only variants.

The early Greek writers seem to have used only the form *Χαλδαία*, thus confusing the Ḫaldi of Armenia with the Kasdu or Kaldu of the South, and so giving rise to many strange theories. Of these writers the first to use our word is Sophocles, who, in his lost *Tympanistae*,<sup>3</sup> said something about

Κόλχος τε Χαλδαῖός τε καὶ Σύρων.

This reference has already been mentioned by Belck and Lehmann.<sup>4</sup> Of about the same date is the hitherto unnoticed passage of Hellanicus, the first book of whose *Περσικοί* is quoted by Stephen of Byzantium to show that the inhabitants of this land are called *Χαλδαῖοι*, while the land itself bears the title of *Χαλδαϊκή*. It is barely possible, however, that the clause containing the quoted words is merely a gloss of Stephen.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> III, 94; VII, 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Herodotus*, IV, p. 250.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Stephen Byz., *sub* *Χαλδαῖοι*; cf. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Lipsiae, 1856.

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1892, p. 131.

<sup>5</sup> Steph. Byz., *sub* *Χαλδαῖοι*.

Of all the classic writers Xenophon, as might be expected, gives us the most valuable information.<sup>6</sup> His writings throw more light on the condition of the Haldi in later times than do those of all the other Greek writers combined. For our present purpose, however, it is sufficient to note Xenophon's use of *Χαλδαῖοι*, especially as Belck and Lehmann have already discussed these notices at considerable length.<sup>7</sup>

It is just possible that Dicæarchus (fl. 320 B. C.), in the first book of his *Ἑλλάδος βίος*, used the word *Χάλδοι*, since Eustathius of Thessalonica quotes him as saying that the *Χάλδοι* who live near Colchis have been called by some *Χαλδαῖοι*, a trisyllabic word.<sup>8</sup> But, since the form of quotation is loose, and since Stephen, in quoting this very passage, uses only the form *Χαλδαῖοι*,<sup>9</sup> we may well suspect the accuracy of the reading *Χάλδοι*.

The earliest apparent use of *Χαλδία* is to be found in the fragment from the *Periplus* of Menippus, an Augustan writer, quoted by Stephen.<sup>10</sup> Here again we may suspect Stephen's reading, although, on the whole, it seems more rational to attribute the word to Menippus himself.

The last classical references are those of Strabo and Plutarch. The first is to be noted for his labored effort to connect *Χαλδαῖοι* and *Χαλύβες*,<sup>11</sup> the other for his use of *Χαλδαίων ἐρημίαν*, significant as showing that the Haldi had already been driven into the wildest part of the country.<sup>12</sup>

The references of Stephen of Byzantium bridge over the space between those of the classical writers and those of the Byzantine Greeks. To his research we owe the references to Sophocles, Hellanicus, Dicæarchus, and Menippus. As an original author he furnishes little. Although he distinguishes in his two succeeding articles between the *Χαλδαῖοι* and *Χαλδία*, he does not see that the *Χαλδαῖοι* of the latter portion of the first are the inhabitants of the *Χαλδία* of the second.

Once more we lose sight of the *Χάλδοι*. It is the ninth century before they reappear. *Χαλδία* is then one of the most

<sup>6</sup> *Anab.*, IV, 3. 4; V, 5. 17; VII, 8. 25; *Cyrop.*, III, 2 *sqq.*

<sup>7</sup> *Verhand. Ber. Anth. Ges.*, 1895, pp. 585 *sqq.*

<sup>8</sup> *Com. ad Dion.*, 767; *cf. Frag. Hist. Graec.*, Frag. 8, Vol. II.

<sup>9</sup> *Sub Χαλδαῖοι*; *cf. Frag. Hist. Graec.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> *Sub Χαλδαῖοι*.

<sup>11</sup> XII, 3. 18-20, 28, 29. Belck still believes, wrongly, in my opinion, in this identity. (*Verh. Berl. Anth. Ges.*, 1900, p. 65.)

<sup>12</sup> *Lucullus*, XIV, 2.

important parts of the empire. References are numerous. *Χαλδία* forms one of the great frontier themes, the eighth, according to Constantine VII. (912–57).<sup>13</sup> Its capital was Trapezus.<sup>14</sup> The *στρατηγὸς Χαλδίας* was sixteenth in rank at the imperial court.<sup>15</sup>

Notwithstanding the general use of the more correct *Χαλδία*, it is still confused with *Χαλδαία*. Eustathius of Thessalonica, as already noted, has made some learned investigations, and therefore follows Strabo in identifying the *Χαλδαῖοι* with the *Χαλύβες*.<sup>16</sup> Constantine attempts to prove that the Samaritan captives were settled in *Χαλδία* and that “*Χαλδία* takes its name from the appellation of the Persians and from their ancient fatherland *Χαλδία*, whence they are also called *Χαλδαῖοι*.”<sup>17</sup> The most interesting and instructive case, however, is that of Michael Attaliota,<sup>18</sup> who gravely talks to us of *Μεσοποταμία τε καὶ Χαλδία*, thus showing clearly how *Χαλδία* had taken the place of *Χαλδαία*, now used only by professional scholars.

Since *Χαλδία* was a border province, we find several references to its military affairs. In the reign of Basil I. (867–86) we find Byzantine troops attacking *τοὺς Χάλδους καὶ Κολωνιάτας* in the war with Tephrike.<sup>19</sup> Constantine VII. spent some time in the province,<sup>20</sup> while expeditions against the Saracens under the charge of the prefects of Armenia, Colonia, Mesopotamia, and *Χαλδία*,<sup>21</sup> and also of a certain Constans, patrician and *dungarius* of the fleet, passed through the theme in this reign.<sup>22</sup>

Of personages connected with *Χαλδία* we note the following:

Genesius mentions *Χάλδος τις ὃ Τζιφιναρίτης ἐπώνομον*.<sup>23</sup> A study of this name might be of some value.

Of rulers of *Χαλδία* we first note a certain Bardas, governor of this province during the reign of Nicephorus II. (963–9), but deposed and banished to Amasia by his successor, John I. (969–76).<sup>24</sup> Of more importance is Theodore Gabras, who, about 1091, drove out the Turks, quarreled with Alexius I. (1081–1118), and made himself practically independent. According to Anna Comnena, *ὄρμητο οὗτος ἐκ Χαλδαίας καὶ τῶν ἀνωτέρω μερῶν*.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Them.*, I, p. 30, P 12.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Admin.*, 43, p. 185.

<sup>15</sup> Constantine, *Cer.*, II, 52, p. 711.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 45, p. 199.

<sup>16</sup> *Com. ad Dion.*, 767.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 50, p. 226.

<sup>17</sup> *Them.*, I, p. 30, P 12.

<sup>23</sup> IV, 51A, p. 106.

<sup>18</sup> P. 78.

<sup>24</sup> Leo. Diac., *Hist.*, VI, 2.

<sup>19</sup> *Theop. Cont.*, V, 40, p. 269.

<sup>25</sup> *Alex.*, VIII, 9, p. 417.

We learn that Andronicus I. (1183-5), before his accession, had led a wild life in *Χαλδία*, so we hear Ephræmius speaking of him

ὅτε προσῆλθε ἀνακτ' ἐκ τῆς Χαλδίας.<sup>26</sup>

Finally, we have the reference of Nicetas to a certain Saltuchus who ruled Colonia and *Χαλδαία*.<sup>27</sup>

To this same Nicetas we owe a description of the *Χαλδαϊκῇ καμίνῳ ἣν ἀνέκανσε νάφθα*, a description paralleled by modern accounts of the vicinity of Batum on the Caspian.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, we note that there were both Armenians and *Χάλδοι* in the army which supported Thomas in his rebellion against Michael II. (821-9),<sup>29</sup> and that the Turma of Keltzine was a part of *Χαλδία*.<sup>30</sup> With the reference of the Continuator of Theophanes to *Ἀρμενίων Χάλδων Ἰβήρων* the list comes to an end.<sup>31</sup>

Few of these references throw any light upon the actual condition of the *Χάλδοι* in post-Assyrian times. They are rather valuable as showing how the name survived long after the *Χάλδοι* themselves had been utterly forgotten.

<sup>26</sup> L. 4869.

<sup>27</sup> *Man. Com.*, IV, 93A, p. 185; cf. *Rec. de Hist. de Crois.*, *Hist. grec.*, I, p. 298.

<sup>28</sup> *And. Comn.*, I, 200A, p. 404.

<sup>30</sup> *Const. Admin.*, 46, p. 209.

<sup>29</sup> *Genesisius*, II, 15A, p. 33.

<sup>31</sup> II, 12, p. 55.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—The following articles and books on the subject of Chaldæans and Chaldians in Armenia have appeared within the last few years: P. Jensen, "Die Sitze der Urarto-Chaldaeer zur Zeit Tiglathpileser's I. nach Belck und Lehmann," *ZA.*, Vol. XI, pp. 306-9; Belck und Lehmann, "Zu Jensen's Bemerkungen betreffs der Sitze der Chalder," *ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 113-23.—P. Jensen, *Hittiter und Armenier*. Strassburg: Trübner, 1898; xxvi+255 pp.—P. Karolides, *Die sogenannten Assyro-Chaldæer und Hittiten von Kleinasien*. Athen: Barth & Hirst, 1898; 175 pp.—M. Streck, "Das Gebiet der heutigen Landschaften Armenien, Kurdistan u. Westpersien nach den babylonisch-assyrischen Inschriften," *ZA.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 57-110, 203-72.—Also Belck and Lehmann's "Reiseberichte" on their expedition to Armenia, published in several periodicals during the years 1899 and 1900; and the literature clustering around their report.]